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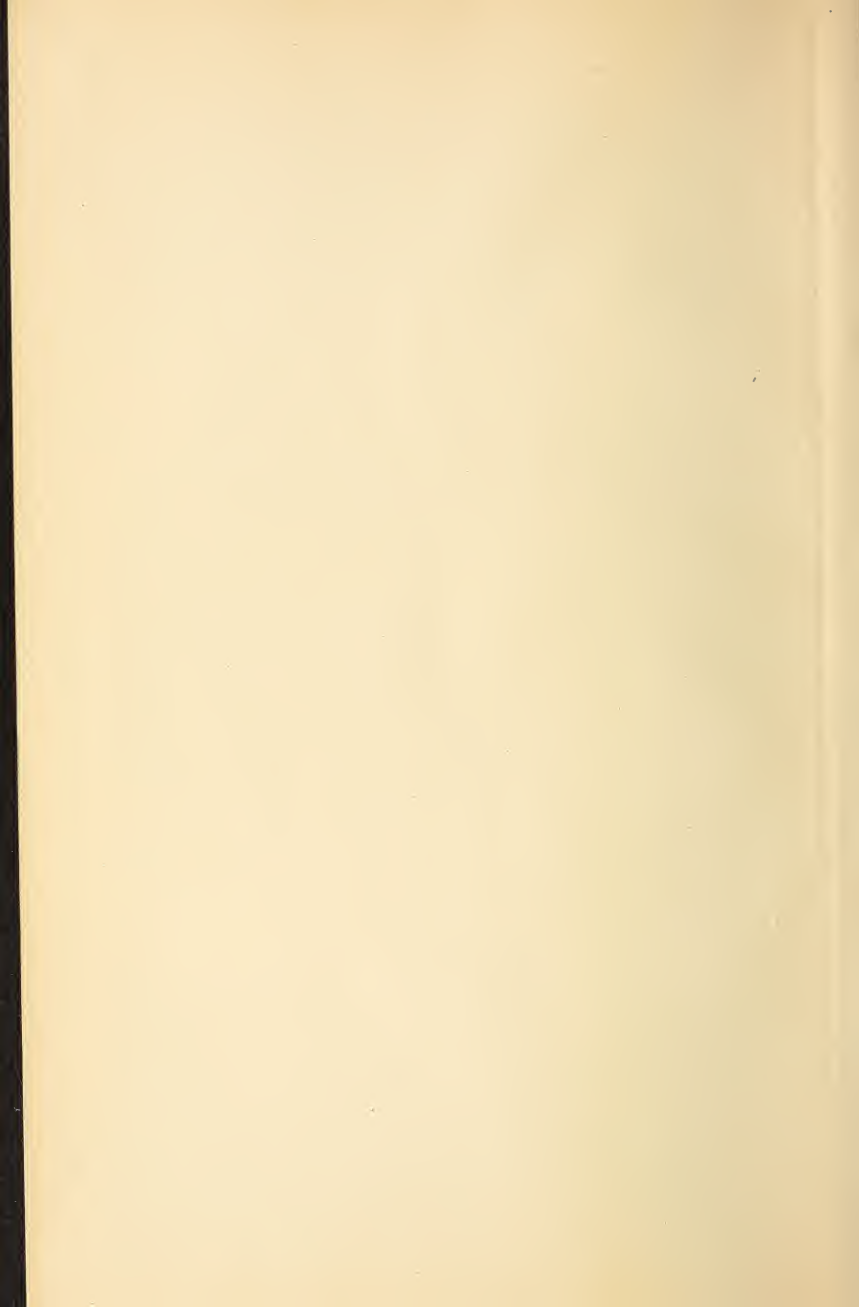


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LINCOLN

THE MAN AND THE STATESMAN

BY

DWIGHT GOSS



CHICAGO
NEW YORK
ROW, PETERSON & COMPANY

My Work

Let me but do my work from day to day,
In field or forest, at the desk or loom,
In the roaring market-place or tranquil room;
Let me but find it in my heart to say,
When vagrant wishes beckon me astray,
“This is my work; my blessing, not my doom;
Of all who live, I am the one by whom
This work can best be done in the right way.
Then shall I see it not too great, nor small,
To suit my spirit and to prove my powers;
Then shall I cheerful greet the laboring hours,
And cheerful turn, when the long shadows fall
At eventide, to play and love and rest,
Because I know for me my work is best.”

—HENRY VAN DYKE.

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✓ LINCOLN

The Man and the Statesman

BY
DWIGHT GOSS ✓

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ROW, PETERSON & COMPANY

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FOREWORD

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The author of this little monograph was an attorney in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Because of his interest in historical subjects and his ability to present them in a clear, attractive way, he was often asked to talk on special topics to classes in the public schools. At the request of some of the pupils he reduced a few of these talks to writing, so that they might be studied with care in connection with their work in history. This epitome of the life and work of Lincoln seemed to us worthy of a more permanent form and a wider distribution.

Acquaintance with the lives of great men and women is one of the best means of setting right ideals and developing good character. Lincoln's young soul was infused with the life of Washington. This sympathetic sketch cannot fail to lead to admiration of Lincoln as a man, and admiration usually leads to imitation.

On the other hand, the young student can, in this brief story, get a clear idea of the real issues between the North and the South, through the study of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Dred Scott case, the Lincoln-Douglas debates, the question of State Rights, and the Thirteenth Amendment.

—THE PUBLISHERS.

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LINCOLN

The Man and the Statesman

PARENTAGE AND CHILDHOOD

The Lincoln Family.—The forefathers of President Lincoln were among those sturdy pioneers who crossed mountains, forded rivers, traversed forests, and endured hardships to advance civilization, build homes and found commonwealths. His grandfather early settled in the forests of Kentucky. With him were his three boys, Mordecai, Josiah and Thomas.

One morning, while the youngest boy was playing and the father and older boys were chopping trees near the cabin, a shot suddenly came from the neighboring woods and the father sank dead to the earth. Mordecai ran to the cabin for a gun, Josiah went to the neighbors for aid, while little six-year-old Thomas sat by the body of his father. Soon an Indian in war paint rushed from the forest and attempted to

seize the little boy. As the savage rushed for him his older brother, who had obtained the gun at the cabin, looked through a window, took aim at a silver ornament upon the Indian's breast, and, with a well directed shot, brought him to the earth. Thomas immediately ran and took refuge with his brother in the cabin.

Other Indians soon appeared and attempted to scalp the father and capture the boys, but they were kept off by the brave Mordecai with his gun until the neighbors, aroused by Josiah, came and drove away the assailants. The little boy, Thomas, became the father of the President.

Pioneer Life.—In those days life was hard and stern in Kentucky. The people had not only to fight Indians for existence, but to contend with nature for subsistence. There was no manufacturing, no money, and almost no commerce. Each household made its own clothing and raised its own food. There were no newspapers, no books, no intellectual and social advantages, few churches, and fewer schools. Yet, notwithstanding their poverty, the people were hopeful and happy. From such environment came the great Lincoln.

Childhood.—In February, 1809, during the

last month of the administration of Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln was born in Hardin County amid the hills of Central Kentucky, where his father worked a small farm and occasionally worked as a carpenter. His mother was a woman of handsome appearance and superior intellectual attainments, considering her surroundings and opportunities. Their home was a log cabin where rough comfort and rude plenty abounded. It was on the frontier and amid woods and streams where the future President found plenty of hunting and fishing and all kinds of healthy outdoor sports. During his childhood his mother taught him to read, and he went to school for a few weeks when opportunity presented itself.

He early learned patriotism. Once asked if he remembered about the war with Great Britain he replied, "Only this: I had been fishing one day and caught a little fish which I was taking home. I met a soldier in the road returning from the war, and having always been told at home that we must be good to the soldiers, I gave him my fish."

Home in Indiana.—When Lincoln was seven years old his father, filled with the American spirit of adventure and desire for change, mi-

grated to Indiana. He built a log cabin amid the woods in Spencer County about sixteen miles from the Ohio River, and the pioneer life was continued. Three-legged stools made with an axe; bedsteads made of poles stuck between the logs in angles of the cabin, the outside corners supported by crotched sticks, and tables of hewn logs constituted the furniture; while an iron pot for cooking and tin dishes furnished the table. The newly cleaned fields gave corn meal, the garden patch produced vegetables, and the wild forest furnished game for food; while homespun woolen and linen fabrics and the skins of wild beasts furnished materials for clothing. Lincoln's father was a carpenter and a good hunter, so that undoubtedly his home was somewhat better furnished and provided for than were those of his neighbors.

A Second Mother.—When Abraham Lincoln was nine years old his mother died, and the small boy, with his sister two years older, kept house for their father while they mourned their loss. Within a year their father went to Kentucky and brought home to them a stepmother. She was an industrious, gentle woman who quickly won the hearts of her husband's children and they repaid her affection with love and

honor. After President Lincoln's death his stepmother, who was then an old woman, said: "Abe was always a good boy. He never gave me a cross word or look, and never refused to do anything I asked him." Abraham Lincoln never received a more glorious tribute than those words of his stepmother.

Little Schooling.—At that time schools in southern Indiana were few and far between. During his boyhood Lincoln attended only three terms, but he improved to the utmost his meager opportunities. He early commenced to write out his lessons and thoughts. Slates were unknown and often there was no paper, so he had to take charcoal and write upon pieces of boards and wooden fire shovels which he would use over and over again by shaving off his written characters and writing again and again on the freshly-hewn surface. He quickly became a good penman and an excellent speller.

One of his old schoolmates tells this story: "We were having a spelling match and the word 'defied' had been missed by a number when it came to me. I started d-e-f— and hesitated, for I did not know whether an i or a y came next, when I happened to look towards Abe. He pointed to his eye and I spelled the word right and held my place."

YOUTH AND EARLY MANHOOD

A Student at Home.—When not in school he read all the books which could be obtained. There were not many books in the neighborhood, but he borrowed all that could be had, and whenever he heard of a new book he walked and borrowed it. Sometimes he paid for its use by work. He read over and over again the “Bible,” “Æsop’s Fables,” “Pilgrim’s Progress,” a “Short History of the United States,” and Weem’s “Life of Washington.” The latter book became damaged by rain while in his possession. It was a borrowed book, so the boy went to the owner and worked three days to pay for the volume. Then it was his and ever after he loved and cherished it.

In the neighboring town of Gentryville a storekeeper took the only newspaper received in that part of the country. Lincoln often went to the store to read the paper. He was always well received because he often entertained the storekeeper with original compositions and recitations from books he had read.

Begins to Study Law.—Among the books which fell into his hands at this time was a law book, the Statutes of Indiana, which contained the Constitution of the United States and the

Ordinance of 1787; these he read with characteristic eagerness and committed them to memory. Reading the old law book directed his ambition to the law and prepared him for beginning his life-work.

A Trip to New Orleans.—When he was nineteen years old he made a trip from Indiana to New Orleans for his friend, the storekeeper, on a flatboat loaded with produce for market. At that time he had attained his full stature of six feet and four inches, and was possessed of strength in proportion to his size. He and a companion no older than himself constituted the crew of the boat. One night when near the end of their journey they were attacked by a gang of marauding negroes from a neighboring plantation who attempted to rob the boat. The two boys not only successfully resisted the attack, but put the robbers to flight and pursued them until all signs of battle disappeared.

Lincoln's first encounter with the colored race gave no indication that he would ever be their emancipator. He successfully managed the enterprise and sold the cargo at a profit for its owner, so that he obtained not only a glimpse of the outside world but some valuable business experience. Returning to Indiana he worked

two years at chopping and other manual labor. He could at a single blow sink his axe deeper into the wood than could any other man in that part of the country. He also could jump higher and farther than any competitor, and no man could be found that could place him on his back. In the meantime his mind was no less active than his body, for he was reading all the books he could obtain, writing out select passages and committing them to memory.

Removal to Illinois.—In 1830 the Lincoln family moved to Illinois. They traveled by teams and were two weeks on the road before reaching their destination in Macon County on the banks of the Sangamon River. On the way a pet dog was one day accidentally left behind. Just after the party had crossed a wide stream the little fellow appeared upon the bank from which they had come, where he whined and barked in great distress. The poor animal was afraid to cross, for it was in early spring and the stream was filled with ice. Young Lincoln waded the stream and triumphantly returned with the shivering dog under his arm. He afterwards said that the dog's frantic leaps of joy amply repaid him for the exposure.

On this journey Lincoln undoubtedly for the

first time saw the prairies amid which he spent the rest of his life. The Lincolns built a cabin on the edge of the timber along the Sangamon, where they could obtain wood and water, the first necessities of pioneer life. The river also afforded a highway to the outside world. The first summer a few acres of the neighboring prairies were plowed and enclosed with a fence made of rails split by young Lincoln and his uncle, John Hanks, from some tall walnut trees growing on the bank of the river. Those rails were destined to make history.

Second Trip South.—About a year after the Lincolns reached the banks of the Sangamon a business man living at New Salem, a small town some forty miles below, whose operations extended along the river, wished to send a flatboat to New Orleans. Having heard of young Lincoln's experience in flatboating, he engaged him for the trip. On this journey Lincoln first realized the evils of human slavery. He saw negroes chained and whipped, and also saw a sale of slaves. The latter so bitterly and deeply impressed him that he said: "If ever I get a chance to hit slavery I'll hit it hard."

Works in a Store.—On his return to Illinois Lincoln's employer engaged him to work in his

store at New Salem. While waiting for a stock of goods to arrive he held his first political office by acting as clerk at an election. During the day, at intervals of his official duties, he told many characteristic stories which greatly delighted the bystanders. His standing as a good fellow was at once established in the new town. Soon after the stock of goods came and Lincoln was put in charge of the store.

At this time, weighing over two hundred pounds, he was in full possession of his great physical powers and his employer boasted that his new clerk could throw down any man in the county. A few miles away lived Jack Armstrong, a local character of great renown and a well-developed specimen of physical manhood, who accepted the challenge. They met and Lincoln won. By that contest Lincoln secured the admiration of the region, and by his good nature and tact he also won the friendship of the man he vanquished. In the months following the Armstrong family often aided Lincoln, and in after years he repaid their kindness in a most substantial manner.

In the country Lincoln soon established a reputation for honesty and integrity. One day a woman paid him a few cents too much. That

night he walked several miles to return the money and apologize for the mistake.

Continues to Study.—During this time he was using the little learning he had obtained in Indiana, for he had to keep accounts, but he also realized that there was a world of knowledge besides reading, writing and arithmetic. He read all the books in the neighborhood and made friends with the village schoolmaster, who advised him to study English grammar. The nearest grammar was miles away, yet Lincoln walked the entire distance and secured the prize. In a few weeks he had mastered the whole book.

The next year, his employer failing in business, Lincoln enlisted as a volunteer in the Black Hawk war. In the selection of officers he was chosen captain. His company marched to the seat of war in Northern Illinois, but saw little or no active service. On his return he became a candidate for election to the State Legislature, but was defeated.

The campaign, however, gave him an opportunity to show his abilities as a public speaker, and his canvass widely extended his acquaintance. Soon after the election he purchased an interest in a store at New Salem and gave his time to selling goods, when there were custom-

ers; and, when there were none, to read and study. But he now had a definite object in study, for he began to read law, walking to Springfield, fourteen miles away, for his books.

EARLY PUBLIC SERVICE

Begins Public Service.—The next year he was appointed postmaster at New Salem, which office he held for three years. Soon after he was appointed deputy surveyor of Sangamon County. With characteristic energy and industry he applied himself to study and in six weeks mastered the details of surveying. As postmaster and deputy surveyor he became well known and obtained political influence in the community.

Elected to Legislature.—In 1834 Lincoln was elected to the Legislature and commenced to mingle with men of state reputation and influence. His first legislative experience was eminently successful from the standpoint of personal pride and popularity. The next session he was re-elected and by his efforts, and those of his associates, the state capitol was removed from Vandalia to Springfield. In the meantime, having been admitted to the bar, Lincoln took up his residence at Springfield, which was ever

after his home. He was elected to the Legislature again in 1838 and in 1840.

Practices Law.—His first law-partner was John T. Stuart, who was either a member of Congress or a candidate for Congress during the whole time of their partnership and, as a result, the junior member had most of the law business of the firm to look after. In after years Stuart became an eminent attorney, but during his partnership with Lincoln he was more of a politician than he was a lawyer. Lincoln's desire for public life was doubtless intensified by his associations with Stuart. In 1841 the partnership of Stuart and Lincoln was dissolved and a new one of Logan and Lincoln was formed. Logan was a careful, studious, painstaking lawyer, whose professional and personal influence upon Lincoln was of the best. Four years later the partnership of Logan and Lincoln was dissolved, and soon after the law firm of Lincoln and Herndon was formed, which continued until Mr. Lincoln's death.

Marriage.—In 1842 Mr. Lincoln married Miss Mary Todd of Kentucky. To them were born four sons, only one of whom, Robert Todd Lincoln, lived to manhood; one died in infancy, while Willie died in boyhood at the White

House, and Tad a few years after his father's death.

Goes to Congress.—During the next few years Mr. Lincoln practiced law and was much engaged in politics. He was an ardent Whig and frequently acted upon political committees. An excellent campaign orator, he was generally on the Whig electoral ticket and always made an active canvass for the principles of his party and its candidates. He became well known over the State of Illinois. In 1846 he was elected to Congress.

During his term the Conduct of the Mexican War, the Treaty of Peace with Mexico and the problems growing out of the war occupied the attention of Congress and the American people. Mr. Lincoln opposed the war with Mexico because he believed it was an unjust war, but he believed that, his country having become engaged in war, it was his duty to vote supplies for the army, and to aid the administration of the government, then under the control of the Democratic party, in carrying on the war and bringing it to a successful close. He believed the territory obtained by the treaty of peace should be governed and controlled by the same principles and policies which for many years

had governed and controlled the territory obtained by the Louisiana purchase, and especially that the principles of the Missouri Compromise* should be observed and continued. During his congressional career he showed his hostility to human slavery by introducing a bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia.

IDEALS IN THE PRACTICE OF LAW

Abandons Politics for Law.—Mr. Lincoln was not a candidate for re-election to Congress. At the close of his term he returned to Springfield, abandoned politics, and for several years devoted himself to his profession. He was much of the time a circuit lawyer and rode the Eighth Judicial Circuit which embraced fourteen counties in central Illinois. The Judge would go from county seat to county seat to hold court, while the lawyers went with him and all stopped at the town tavern. In those days there were no railroads and the party usually traveled on horseback or in buggies. Lincoln was always the life of such a party. Full of wit and humor he constantly told stories and kept every one good natured. If the roads were bad, the table poor, or the beds hard, Lincoln made the best of it, and his jolly spirit was so contagious

*See page 25.

that grumblers forgot to find fault and hardships were not realized.

Such a life also stimulated intellectual activity. Lawyers could not take their libraries with them, but had to carry their resources in their heads. Clients often engaged their attorneys but a few hours or a few minutes before their cases came on for trial, and the most successful lawyer was the one who could most quickly seize the salient points of a controversy and most vividly present them to court and jury. Lincoln's entire life had fitted him for success in such work. He knew the hearts of the people with whom he came in contact, and how to reach their understanding, because of his own difficulties in obtaining knowledge and learning correct habits of thought. It is interesting to note that Lincoln after he was a member of Congress diligently studied higher mathematics and logic, and conquered them without the aid of a teacher. He was always a student and to that fact is due much of his success.

Sense of Honor.—Lincoln never attempted to deceive others because he never deceived himself. He took no cases that did not appeal to his own keen sense of right and justice. "I cannot take your case," he said to a man who

showed that by a legal technicality property worth six hundred dollars could be obtained. "Some things legally right are not morally right. I will give you a bit of advice and charge you nothing. Try your hand at making six hundred dollars in some other way."

Professional Ambition.—One of the most important lawsuits in which Mr. Lincoln ever engaged was concerning the patents of the McCormick reaping machines. The case was heard at Cincinnati and with Mr. Lincoln was associated Mr. Stanton, who afterwards was Secretary of War while Mr. Lincoln was President. On this occasion Mr. Lincoln first met in court the great lawyers of the East and learned their methods. On his way home he remarked to a companion: "I am going home to study law." "What do you mean?" replied his companion; "you now stand at the head of the Illinois bar." "Oh, yes," said Mr. Lincoln, "I occupy a good position there, but these college-trained men who have devoted their whole lives to study are coming West and they study their cases as we never do. They are now in Cincinnati. They will soon be in Illinois. I am going home to study, and when they get to Illinois I will be ready for them." During his entire life Mr. Lincoln never

laid aside those habits of severe study and application acquired when a boy in the woods of southern Indiana.

The Armstrong Case.—One of the most famous cases tried by Mr. Lincoln was the Armstrong case. Duff Armstrong was a son of Jack Armstrong, with whom Lincoln had the wrestling match at New Salem years before. Young Armstrong attended a camp meeting in Macon County where a number of ruffians had congregated. Becoming involved in a drunken brawl, he beat with his fists a young man named Metzker, who three days after died. It was claimed that death was caused by a blow with a slungshot given by Armstrong in the fight. Young Armstrong was arrested and thrown in prison. Just then his father died, but on his deathbed he charged his wife “to sell everything and clear Duff.”

Before the trial Hannah Armstrong sent for Lincoln to defend her boy. Learning that the prisoner was the son of his old friend, Lincoln responded and took full charge of the defense. He took pains as far as possible to secure young men on the jury. On the trial the most damaging evidence was given by a witness who testified that he saw Armstrong strike Metzker with

a slungshot about ten or eleven o'clock at night. Under Mr. Lincoln's skillful questions he repeated over and over again, until the jury could not forget it, that he saw the blow by the light of the moon, which was shining brightly, and that it was late at night. On that testimony the prosecution rested.

In his argument Lincoln produced an almanac which showed that at the hour stated no moon was in the heavens. On that date the moon was in its first quarter and set early in the evening. Lincoln also told the jury that he was not there as a paid advocate, but to discharge an old debt of gratitude, that the Armstrongs had been kind to him when he needed friends, that Jack Armstrong had aided him in adversity, that Hannah Armstrong had been to him a mother, and that many times he had rocked the prisoner to sleep when an infant in the old family cradle. Lincoln knew he had won the case, for as the jury left the court room he said to the boy's mother: "Aunt Hannah, Duff will be free before sundown." And so it was. A verdict of not guilty was soon returned.

ORIGIN OF THE GREAT CONFLICT

The Slavery Question. — While Lincoln was practicing law on the Circuit the slavery ques-

tion began to agitate the country as never before. When the Federal Constitution was adopted slavery existed in nearly all of the states, but as the years went by it disappeared in the northern states because it was unprofitable, but in the southern states it increased and was extended because it seemed suited for the economic conditions of the country. This was especially true in the cotton states after the invention of the cotton gin. Cotton cultivated by slave labor became the staple product of the southern states, and slavery became a part of the social and industrial life of the southern people. In the early years of the republic slavery attracted comparatively little attention because it was expected soon to pass away, but the rapid growth of cotton culture made it such an important factor in the business and wealth of the South that it became in time a most cherished political institution of the Southern states.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act.—In 1854 the Democratic party was supreme in national affairs and, under the leadership of Stephen A. Douglas, a senator from Illinois, passed through Congress the so-called Kansas-Nebraska Act which provided that the people of a territory, in applying for statehood, could establish or reject slav-

ery in their state constitutions as they saw fit. This measure was a violation of the Missouri Compromise which had passed Congress in 1820 providing that Missouri might come into the Union as a slave state, but that slavery should never be allowed north of 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude. Mr. Lincoln earnestly opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Act. He again entered politics and made many speeches in opposition to it. This brought him before the people as an active opponent of Mr. Douglas, who was the author and chief advocate of the act.

Birth of Republican Party.—In 1856 the Republican party was organized to oppose the extension of slavery in the territories and Mr. Lincoln was numbered among its founders and leaders in Illinois. He took an active part in the campaign and made over fifty speeches in Illinois and neighboring states. The Republicans elected their candidate for governor in Illinois, carried a number of other states, and showed a big vote for their candidate for president, but the Democratic candidate, Mr. Buchanan, was elected. In this campaign the Republican party attacked the Democratic party for its violation of the Missouri Compromise in passing the Kansas-Nebraska Act. They in-

sisted that national authority had a constitutional right to keep slavery out of the territories by congressional legislation, and that it was the duty of Congress to restrict slavery as much as possible, because that had been the general policy of the Federal Government from its organization.

The Dred Scott Decision.—Mr. Buchanan had scarcely taken his seat as president when the famous Dred Scott decision was announced by the Supreme Court of the United States. The legal point in the case was whether a free negro whose ancestors were slaves could become a citizen of one of the United States and enjoy the privileges of citizenship under the Federal Constitution. The court not only decided the legal point of the case, but discussed its political aspects as applied to the territories. A majority of the court held that a free negro, whose ancestors were slaves, could not become a citizen of one of the United States so as to become a party to a lawsuit in the federal courts, and that, as it appeared by the record of the case that Dred Scott was such a person, the Court did not have jurisdiction of the matter; but the Court also said that in the territory acquired by the Louisiana purchase, and from Mexico, slaves could be

held as property protected by the Federal Constitution, that Congress could not lawfully interfere with slaves or property in the territories, and that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional and void.

The Decision Interpreted.—Had the court rested its decision upon the legal point of the case, the matter would have attracted little attention, but what the court said concerning the political aspect of the case attracted widespread attention, caused intense excitement, and was pregnant with great events. If submitted to as positive law it overthrew the political contentions of the Republican party and destroyed the object of its organization. The slaveholders at once claimed the Dred Scott decision to be the law of the land, and that it gave them a right to take their slaves into the territories and hold them there as property, and have their property rights protected. The opponents of slavery claimed that what the court said in the decision about slaves in the territories was not law, but a mere opinion of the court about matters which had not been before it for consideration, that, however eminent the members of the supreme court might be as citizens, their mere opinion about political matters was worth no more than

that of other eminent citizens, and that the people of the United States were not bound to follow mere dictum about government policies. For the next four years the Dred Scott decision divided political parties and distracted the country.

THE FAMOUS DEBATES

Candidate for the Senate.—In 1858 the Republicans of Illinois put forward Mr. Lincoln as their candidate for United States senator in opposition to Mr. Douglas, who desired a re-election. Mr. Douglas was also an avowed candidate for the Democratic nomination for president two years hence. In the senatorial campaign slavery in the territories and the principles embraced in the Kansas-Nebraska Act were the issues.

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates.—Joint debates between the candidates were held which attracted the attention of the entire nation and became a landmark in American history. Lincoln and Douglas were about the same age, and when they met in debate both were in the prime of their physical and mental powers, but they presented many contrasts.

Mr. Douglas was the most brilliant figure in American political life, and had received

the highest political honors. He had been prosecutor, registrar of the public lands, member of the state legislature, attorney general, secretary of state, judge, member of Congress, United States senator, candidate for the presidency, and for years a national political leader. Precocious in public life, he was prosecutor at twenty-one, a judge at twenty-seven, a United States senator at thirty-two, and had a national reputation before he was forty. Winning in personality, fearless in debate, magnetic in speech, full of expedients and finesse, he had successfully met in political debate all the leading statesmen of the day. Short of stature, rotund in figure, jolly in countenance, majestic in appearance, graceful in manner and address, and possessing a voice rich, full and musical, he had supreme confidence in his own powers and resources. By his friends and admirers he was called the "little giant."

On the contrary, Mr. Lincoln had received few political honors, having only been a member of the state legislature and a member of Congress for one term. He was little known outside his own state. His intellectual powers had matured slowly, and his mental attainments were the results of great industry. Possessing no tricks

of oratory, he convinced only by his earnestness and honesty. He was habitually diffident in public speech; yet he had complete confidence in the justice of his cause. He was six feet four inches in height, lean in flesh, stooped shouldered, ungainly in figure, awkward in manner and address, while his voice was sharp, shrill and penetrating. But when he had been speaking for a time his disagreeable manners and mannerisms disappeared and he became graceful, sympathetic and fascinating. His voice grew pleasing, his face glowed with enthusiasm, his eyes flashed and he often held his audience spellbound with impassioned eloquence. By the people he was called "old Abe."

The Senatorial Contest.—The campaign was opened by Mr. Lincoln at Springfield with a speech the first paragraph of which commanded widespread attention. It was as follows:

"If we could first know where we are and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do and how to do it. We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy that agitation has not only not ceased but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. 'A

house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South."

Before delivering the speech he read it to several of his friends who severely criticized it, and advised him not to deliver it, saying that the expression about "the house divided against itself" was too radical and sectional in spirit. Mr. Lincoln replied: "That expression is a truth of all human experience. I do not believe I would do right in changing or omitting it. I would rather be defeated with that expression in the speech and uphold and discuss it before the people than be victorious without it." To other friends who criticized the speech he said: "Friends, the time has come when these sentiments should be uttered; and if it is decreed that I should go down because of this speech, then let me go down linked to the truth; let me die advocating what is just and right."

After the speech was made criticism continued. To one fault-finding friend Mr. Lincoln said: "If I had to draw a pen across my record, and erase my whole life from sight, and had one poor choice left as to what could be saved from the wreck, I should choose that speech and leave it to the world."

The event proved the speech to be of great political adroitness, for it forced Douglas to defend his own record, and the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, to discuss the Dred Scott decision, and to argue whether slavery was right or wrong. It compelled Mr. Douglas to uphold the institution of slavery and gave Mr. Lincoln an opportunity to attack it.

The Freeport Debate.—In a joint debate at Freeport Mr. Lincoln made a bold stroke. He asked Mr. Douglas:

"Can the people of United States territory, in any lawful way against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?"

Mr. Douglas ingeniously answered as follows:

"The people have the lawful means to introduce or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere unless it is supported by local police

regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature, and if the people are opposed to slavery they will elect representatives to that body who will, by unfriendly legislation, effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislature will favor its presence."

Before presenting the question Mr. Lincoln read it to his political friends and they all opposed his asking it, saying Mr. Douglas would answer the question in the way he did answer it and so secure his election as senator. Mr. Lincoln replied:

"If Douglas answers, he can never be president. I am after larger game than the senatorship; the battle of 1860 is worth a hundred of this."

With great political sagacity Mr. Lincoln had realized that Mr. Douglas was in an inconsistent position in arguing that the people of a territory could regulate their domestic concerns in their own way and at the same time justifying the doctrine of the Dred Scott decision that slaves, being property, could not be excluded from a territory. In answering the question the way he did Mr. Douglas pleased the people of Illinois, but incurred the everlasting enmity

of the slaveholders, who rightly claimed that if the dictums of the Dred Scott decision were law they had the constitutional right to hold slaves in the territories as property and could not be deprived of that right by unfriendly local legislation.

The Alton Debate.—In the last joint debate at Alton Mr. Lincoln discussed the moral aspect of slavery. He said:

“When Mr. Douglas invites any people willing to have slavery to establish it, he is blowing out the moral lights around us. When he says he ‘cares not whether slavery is voted up or voted down’—that it is a sacred right of self-government—he is, in my judgment, penetrating the human soul and eradicating the light of reason and the love of liberty in this American people.

“That is the real issue. That is the issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between these two principles, right and wrong, throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time, and will ever continue to struggle. One is the common right of humanity, and the other is the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, ‘You work and toil and earn bread, and I will eat it.’ No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king, who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the

fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle.”

Popularity of the Debates.—Great popular interest was excited by these debates. The meetings were held in the open air and the audiences were numbered by thousands. People traveled for days and camped on the prairies at night to hear the discussions. Many newspaper reporters attended and full reports of the speeches were published and read everywhere. There were seven joint debates. The first was held on August 21 and the last on October 15. In the meantime both Mr. Douglas and Mr. Lincoln were making speeches in all parts of the state. When the campaign began Mr. Douglas drew the crowds and attracted the attention, for he was a great national character; but before long Mr. Lincoln was sharing with him the honor and the plaudits of the people. It was a contest of intellectual giants who represented irreconcilable principles and policies.

Who Won?—At their joint debates the two men seemed well mated and fairly matched. One auditor who expressed the feelings of many said: “I felt sorry for Lincoln while Douglas was speaking, and then to my surprise I felt

just as sorry for Douglas when Lincoln replied." The immediate advantage of the debates was to Mr. Douglas, who won the senatorship, but ultimately victory was to Mr. Lincoln, who won the presidency.

After the campaign was over Mr. Lincoln, when asked about his feelings concerning the result, said he felt like the boy who stubbed his toe—it hurt too much to laugh and he was too big to cry.

Slaveholders Oppose Douglas.—The next year Mr. Douglas encountered the hostility of those senators who represented the slaveholding power. They asserted in Congress that Mr. Douglas, on account of the Freeport doctrine, was untrue to Democratic principles; that under the Dred Scott decision slaveholders were entitled to protection for their slaves in the territories; and they gave notice that they should demand in the next Democratic national convention a party platform committing the Democratic party to legislation friendly to slavery in the territories. The Democrats of the North, aided by Mr. Douglas, insisted that national authority should not interfere with slavery in the territories. An irreparable schism in the Democratic party was opening on geographical lines.

ELECTION TO THE PRESIDENCY

Growing Popularity.—In the meantime Mr. Lincoln was obtaining a national reputation. The Lincoln and Douglas debates were used for campaign documents. Campaign committees called on him for speeches. Leading public men in all parts of the country began corresponding with him to obtain his views on public questions and political policies. In 1859 he made several speeches in the Ohio campaign which greatly enhanced his reputation and personal influence.

In February, 1860, by invitation, he made a speech at Cooper Institute in New York City before an audience containing many representative and educated men. He was introduced by the poet Bryant, and he treated the slavery question from a political and historical standpoint. The leading newspapers of the city published his speech in full and paid him rare editorial compliments. The speech was soon used by the class in rhetoric at Yale College as a model in style and analysis. On the same trip Mr. Lincoln made several addresses in the New England college towns upon political topics and was everywhere enthusiastically received. People wondered at his command of language and

his keen logic, until they learned of his years of study in the cabin, at the store, and on the circuit.

Candidate for the Presidency.—During this time Mr. Lincoln's name was frequently mentioned in connection with the presidency. The lawyer friends of Mr. Lincoln began to urge him as a candidate. The Illinois country newspapers took up his name, and then the Chicago journals advocated his candidacy. By a shrewd stroke of policy the Republican National Convention was secured for Chicago, which greatly aided Mr. Lincoln's chances for the nomination. By another stroke of fortune the state Republican convention met at Decatur, near Mr. Lincoln's boyhood home. He was present and met with a picturesque ovation which gave color and romance to the entire campaign. While the convention was in session a standard was brought in made of two old fence-rails upon which were flags, streamers and inscriptions, "Abraham Lincoln," "The Rail Candidate," "For President in 1860," "Two Rails from a Lot of 3,000 Made in 1830 by Thomas Hanks and Abe Lincoln, Whose Father Was the First Pioneer of Macon County." Mr. Lincoln was at once enthusiastically endorsed as the presi-

dential candidate of Illinois for the Republican nomination at Chicago.

The next week, when the Republican hosts met in Chicago, "The Rail Candidate" had many followers. Forty thousand visitors were there to attend the convention. The city was gay with banners and noisy with music and marching clubs shouting for their favorite candidates. The convention was held in a temporary structure called a wigwam which accommodated twelve thousand people. Among the delegates were the leading Republicans of the nation and many other noted men of the United States. Nine hundred editors and reporters were present. The building was packed, and outside was a crowd numbering thousands and extending blocks away. Mr. Seward of New York was the leading candidate, but on the third ballot Mr. Lincoln was nominated.

Enthusiasm of Friends.—The boom of cannon at once announced the nomination to waiting thousands, whose shouts of joy were mingled with shrieks of whistles from boats, locomotives and factories, and peals of bells from every steeple in the city. In a few hours the prairies flamed with pride and excitement. In every town and village there were shouting multi-

tudes, beating drums, and boys carrying fence rails. "There will not be a tar barrel left in Illinois tonight," said Mr. Douglas to his senatorial friends at Washington when told of the nomination. Mr. Lincoln received the news on the streets of Springfield among his exultant neighbors. In a few moments he said: "My friends, I am glad to receive your congratulations, but there is a little woman at home who will be glad to hear the news. You must excuse me until I inform her."

Mr. Lincoln was soon called upon to issue his letter of acceptance which, when finished, he took to his friend, the State Superintendent of Education, for correction. "Mr. Schoolmaster," he said, "here is my letter of acceptance, I wish you to see that it is all right." The superintendent returned it to Mr. Lincoln, saying: "I would suggest only one change. You have written, 'to not violate'; you should have written, 'not to violate.' Never split an infinitive, is the rule." Mr. Lincoln took the manuscript and as he made the change remarked: "So you think I had better put those two little fellows end for end, do you?"

The Democratic Party Split. — The Demo-

cratic National Convention in April, 1860, met at Charleston, South Carolina. From the start it was hopelessly divided. The South demanded a platform stating that slaves could be carried into the territories, and that no legislation should interfere with them. The North demanded a platform stating Mr. Douglas's doctrine of popular sovereignty. The Douglas platform was adopted and the South withdrew. Then both factions adjourned to meet again at Baltimore in June. There the schism was found too wide to close. Mr. Douglas was nominated by one faction and Mr. Breckinridge of Kentucky by the other. Mr. Lincoln by his question to Mr. Douglas at Freeport split in twain the Democratic party.

The break in the Democratic party caused an independent movement which attempted to put aside the slavery question as a campaign issue. It called itself the Constitutional Union party and nominated John Bell of Tennessee for president. The party platforms set forth the principles and policies of each party as follows: The Republicans declared that the institution of slavery was wrong in morals and detrimental to society, and should be restricted to the states

where it already existed. The Southern Democrats declared that slavery was morally right and politically beneficial, and should be extended into the territories of the United States. Although not expressed in their party platform many Southern Democrats advocated a revival of the African slave trade. The Douglas Democrats declared indifference to the morals of slavery as an institution and indifference to the political expediency of its extension or restriction. They would leave the people of a territory to decide for themselves whether or not they would have slavery. The Constitutional Union party completely ignored the slavery question.

Elected President.—During the presidential campaign Mr. Lincoln remained at Springfield. He made no speeches, wrote no public letters, and held no political conferences. He met all who called upon him and was pre-eminently a man of the people. The campaign was full of excitement and enthusiasm. On every hand were flags, banners, fence rails, glee clubs, marching clubs and great mass meetings. When the votes were counted it was found that Mr. Lincoln would receive 180 electoral votes, or a majority of 57 in the whole electoral college.

THE WAR

The Question of State Rights.—Mr. Lincoln had grave constitutional questions to face. From the organization of the federal government there had been conflicting ideas as to its purposes, its powers. By some, the federal government was considered simply a league of states bound together only so long as their interests required union, from which any state could withdraw whenever its interests demanded such action. By others the federal government was considered a sovereign power to which each state, and the people of all the states, owed full and complete allegiance. Those holding the first view considered that the people of any state owed their first duty and allegiance to their state and no duty and allegiance to the federal government except through their state; while those holding the second view considered that the federal government was supreme and that the entire people of all the states owed it full and complete allegiance as a sovereign power. The first view was commonly called the “doctrine of state rights.” In the early history of the Republic, the advocates of both views were found in all parts of the country, but as the years went by the interests of the

slaveholders in the South made them unanimous for state rights, while the commercial interests of the people of the Northern states generally made them federalists and unionists as opposed to state rights.

Secession Proposed.—For years prior to 1860 many Southern statesmen had agitated secession of the Southern states from the Union, whenever their interests should require such action, and the doctrine of state rights was thoroughly understood and approved in all the slaveholding states. Secession was looked upon as no violation of the federal compact and as a proper remedy for securing to any state its just rights. When Mr. Lincoln was elected president the slave-holding states considered that their interests were in danger, and no sooner did the news of his election reach the South than the theory of state rights began to express itself in a movement of secession. South Carolina passed an ordinance of secession in December, and before Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated seven states had seceded and formed a Southern Confederacy.

Choosing His Cabinet.—In the meantime Mr. Lincoln remained at Springfield preparing for the great work before him. He extended his

acquaintance among public men, and those with whom he expected to be associated, by inviting them to Springfield and talking over with them questions of public interest and governmental policy. He arranged his cabinet by consultation with leading Republicans from different states, and he prepared his inaugural address with due regard for the distracted condition of his country. He chose for his counselors the leading men of his party, although many of them had been his rivals for the presidential nomination.

Farewell to Friends and Neighbors.—A fortnight before his departure for Washington Mr. Lincoln went to visit his father's grave, spent a day with his stepmother, and provided for her future material wants. On the morning he left Springfield he made a little speech to his assembled neighbors which was full of tenderness and pathos. He said:

“Friends, no one who has never been placed in a like position can understand my feeling at this hour, nor the oppressive sadness I feel at this parting.

“For more than a quarter of a century I have lived among you, and during all that time I have received nothing but kindness at your hands. Here I have lived from my youth, until now I am an old

man. Here the most sacred ties of earth were assumed. Here all my children were born, and here one of them lies buried. To you, dear friends, I owe all that I have, all that I am. All the strange, checkered past seems to crowd now my mind.

“Today I leave you. I go to assume a task more difficult than that which devolved upon Washington. Unless the great God who assisted him shall be with and aid me, I must fail; but if the same omniscient mind and almighty arm that directed and protected him shall guide and support me, I shall not fail—I shall succeed.

“Let us all pray that the God of our fathers may not forsake us now. To Him I commend you all. Permit me to ask, that, with equal security and faith, you will invoke His wisdom and guidance for me. With these few words I must leave you, for how long I know not. Friends, one and all, I must now bid you an affectionate farewell.”

His Life Threatened.—On his way to Washington he stopped in a number of cities and made a number of addresses which were read with great interest by people in all parts of the country. Threats were freely made against his life and a plot was arranged to kill him while passing through Baltimore. It came to the knowledge of those having charge of Mr. Lincoln's journey, so on the advice of friends he did not pass through Baltimore by day, but in the night by special car unknown to the public.

Early the next morning he was met at the train in Washington by his friend, Mr. Washburne, and escorted to the Willard Hotel, where he remained until his inauguration.

The Inaugural Address. — No inaugural address had been watched for with such anxiety by the American people as was the first inaugural of Mr. Lincoln. Would his policy be to let the seceding states go without hindrance, or to retain them in the Union by force of arms? did he come in peace or in war? were the questions which Unionists and Secessionists waited for him to answer. Mr. Lincoln first gave his construction of the federal constitution, which was that the union of states was perpetual, that no state upon its own motion could lawfully go out of the Union, that it was his official duty to uphold and defend the Union and execute its laws in all portions of its territory. He then appealed to the Secessionists to take time and consider their acts. He closed with these remarkable words:

“In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you.

“You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall

have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect and defend it.'

"I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection.

"The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot-grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

When Mr. Lincoln delivered this address to the American people from the East portico of the Capitol he looked about for a place to rest his silk hat when his old rival, Senator Douglas, courteously stepped forward and took it. "If I can't be president," he laughingly said, "I at least can hold his hat." It was a gracious act gracefully done.

The War Begins.—For a few weeks after Mr. Lincoln became president the country was at the utmost tension. The federal government was watching its interests and property in the states which had seceded, while the confederacy was waiting for an overt act of war on the part of the United States. Finally, South Carolina, on April 12, commenced to bombard Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor and civil war had begun.

The President called for volunteers, and all the states which had not seceded nobly responded. Among the public men who earnestly supported Mr. Lincoln was Senator Douglas. He spoke for the Democrats of the North. The day Fort Sumter was fired on he offered aid and comfort to the President. A few weeks after he addressed a great meeting in Chicago, saying: "There can be no neutrals in this war."

The people quickly divided and soon there were only two classes, Unionists and Secessionists. The whole nation rushed to arms and the land was filled with marching armies. It soon became evident that the war would continue until the strength of one side or the other was exhausted.

Britain Involved.—In November, 1861, there were foreign complications. Mr. Mason and Mr. Slidell were sent as envoys of the Confederacy to England and France. They ran the blockade from Charleston and went to Havana, where they took passage for England in the royal mail steamship Trent. Captain Wilkes of an American man of war stopped the Trent on the high seas and, taking from her the confederate envoys, carried them as prisoners to Boston. In so doing he acted contrary to the principles

of international law, but his act was almost universally approved by the American people. The British government demanded the return of the envoys and President Lincoln ordered their return because it was just and right, and because the British government in denying the right of search on the high seas by the American war vessel virtually gave up the right of search for herself which she had always claimed and which was the chief cause of the war of 1812.

Emancipation Proclamation.—During the second year of the civil war Mr. Lincoln published the great work of his life, the Emancipation Proclamation. In March, 1862, he recommended to Congress the adoption of a joint resolution that the United States co-operate with any state which might adopt gradual abolishment of slavery by giving such state pecuniary aid to compensate for the loss of the slaves. In September, 1862, after the federal force had won a victory at Antietam, President Lincoln issued a preliminary proclamation of emancipation. This prepared the country for the emancipation, which provided that on the first day of January, 1863, all slaves within territory then in civil war with the United States should be

free. On January 1, 1863, he issued the final emancipation proclamation declaring, as a necessary war measure, all slaves free in the states and parts of states then in rebellion against the United States.

In preparing the Emancipation Proclamation Mr. Lincoln acted entirely upon his own responsibility and judgment. He wrote it without consultation with his cabinet, but when it was completed he read it to his counselors, not for discussion of its merits and expediency, but that he might receive suggestions as to its literary composition and the proper time for giving it to the public.

Sympathy with Soldiers.—With the soldiers, President Lincoln was always popular, because he was always interested in their welfare, and personally looked after their wants and needs. One day in a small park between the White House and the War Department a soldier, who had just been discharged from the army, was cursing the government, and especially the President, because he could not get his pay. A tall gentleman who was passing stepped up to him and asked to see his papers, saying he used to practice law and might be of assistance. The lawyer examined the papers and then wrote

a few words on the back. He handed the papers to the soldier, telling him that, if he would take them to the chief clerk of the war department, he would receive his money. The endorsement on the papers was, "Attend to this man's case at once and see that he gets his pay," signed with the initials of the President. The soldier obtained his money before night.

Mr. Lincoln frequently visited the hospitals in Washington and often sent flowers and fruit to the sick and wounded soldiers. He also was a frequent visitor at the military camps, where he often dined with the common soldiers at their mess table. His riding the circuit in the days of his law practice had made him a graceful equestrian and his figure on horseback was familiar to the entire army.

The necessity for punishing soldiers for neglect of duty was a sorrowful burden to the president. During the war he pardoned hundreds of delinquents. In the early part of his term he pardoned one boy of eighteen who had been sentenced to death for sleeping when on duty as a sentinel. The young soldier returned to the service and on the battlefield of Fredericksburg his dead body was found with a picture of President Lincoln next to his heart. The sol-

diers gave Mr. Lincoln a deserved title when they called him "Father Abraham."

Gettysburg Speech.—In June, 1863, the Confederate Army invaded Maryland and Pennsylvania and during the first week of July the greatest battle of the war, and one of the greatest in history, was fought at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, about seventy-five miles north of Washington. It was the only battle of importance fought in a northern state during the civil war. In the following November a National Cemetery at Gettysburg, where the dead of the battle were buried, was dedicated. The address was given by Edward Everett, the greatest living American orator. When he had finished, the president, who was present as a guest, was called upon to set apart the grounds to their sacred use. He arose and delivered the famous Gettysburg speech which is universally considered to be a literary masterpiece. What Mr. Everett said on that occasion has long been forgotten; what Mr. Lincoln said will be remembered until literature and patriotism shall be no more. The speech is as follows:

"Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition

that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

CONCLUSION

His Position in 1864.—In 1864 Mr. Lincoln was renominated for president. By his influence a plank was inserted in his party platform stating that slavery was the cause and strength of the war; that it was hostile to the principles

of Republican government, that national safety demanded its complete extirpation from the soil of the Republic, and that the Constitution ought to be amended to terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits and jurisdiction of the United States. This was the real issue of the campaign presented to the voters of the country. Mr. Lincoln was triumphantly re-elected and the abolition of slavery was endorsed by the votes of the people.

To Amend the Constitution.—Under the constitution an amendment can be made only when proposed by two-thirds of both houses of Congress, or applied for by the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, and ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states or by conventions in three-fourths thereof as may be proposed by Congress.

The Thirteenth Amendment.—The people had so emphatically expressed their desire for the abolition of slavery that Mr. Lincoln in December asked Congress to pass the requisite measure without waiting for its passage by the Congress which had just been elected. The measure passed both houses of Congress in January, 1865, and the Thirteenth Amendment prohibiting slavery became an assured fact, for its rati-

fication by the states came as fast as the legislatures could meet and act. In Mr. Lincoln's first election the people voted that slavery should be restricted to the states where it already existed; in his second election they voted for its abolition in all the states and territories.

A Peace Conference.—In February, 1865, the Confederacy sent three peace commissioners to meet President Lincoln and Secretary Seward concerning a cessation of hostilities. They met on board a United States steamer at Hampton Roads. Nothing came of the conference because the differences were irreconcilable. The Southern commissioners demanded at the outset recognition of the Confederacy as a sovereign power. Mr. Lincoln insisted that before mediation and reconciliation federal authority must be recognized in all the states. One of the commissioners said there was a precedent for an executive entering into an agreement with persons in arms against public authority, and quoted Charles I of England as so doing. Mr. Lincoln replied: "I do not profess to be posted in history, but I distinctly recollect that Charles lost his head."

Second Inaugural Address.—In the meantime the civil war was rapidly coming to a close.

The Confederacy was on the verge of dissolution when Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated the second time and spoke his last words to the American people concerning the slavery question with which his public life had been so intimately associated. In his second inaugural address he spoke with the dignity and grandeur of a Hebrew prophet. The address was as follows:

“Fellow-countrymen: At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at first. Then a statement somewhat in detail of a course to be pursued seemed very fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented.

“The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, prediction in regard to it is ventured. On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it; all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to

dissolve the Union and divide effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And war came. One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, and distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war, while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it.

“Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph and a result less fundamental and astounding.

“Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other.

“It may seem strange that any man should dare to ask a just God’s assistance in wringing his bread from the sweat of the other men’s faces; but let us judge not that we may be not judged.

“The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes.

“‘Woe unto the world because of offenses, for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh.’

“If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of these offenses, which in the providence of God

must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills its removal, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him?

“Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until the wealth piled by the bondman’s two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid with another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, ‘The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.’

“With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and orphans; to bind up the nation’s wounds, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.”

The End of the War.—In the latter part of March Mr. Lincoln went to General Grant’s headquarters to confer about military matters, and was there when Richmond was abandoned by the Confederate forces. He at once went to the city which for years the Federal armies had been attempting to capture. He

spent two days amidst the wildest confusion, yet to him no one manifested the slightest hostile feeling. The Confederates greeted him kindly, while the negroes greeted him as their Messiah. After cautioning the military authorities "to be easy," Mr. Lincoln went to Washington, where he received the news of Lee's surrender.

His Assassination.—On the evening of April fourteenth he went to the theatre with his wife and some friends. While they were watching the play John Wilkes Booth, an actor, entered the box where the party was seated, shot the President, leaped to the stage and escaped. Mr. Lincoln was carefully lifted from his seat, taken across the street, and placed on a bed in a small room of a lodging-house. There he lay unconscious until half-past seven the next morning when, in the presence of his family, members of his cabinet, and many other friends, he passed away. After his spirit had fled Mr. Stanton, the Secretary of War, exclaimed, "Now he belongs to the ages."

Buried at Springfield.—While the dead President lay in state at the White House and at the Capitol his remains were viewed by thousands. The soldiers and the negroes

were conspicuous among the mourners; to one class he had been a father, to the other a liberator. His body was taken from Washington to Springfield, and on the journey the people of the nation paid tributes of love and respect to his memory. When the funeral pageant came to an end the mourning did not cease; neither was it confined to the American people. The nations of the earth mourned the loss of President Lincoln, and from the day of his death humanity has been rearing monuments to his greatness.

An Estimate.—He is admired by the world and loved by mankind. By his words he roused his country to a realization of its great national sin; by his acts the sin was destroyed. He did not profess to be a man of letters yet his words thrill humanity, and he is classed among the masters of English prose. By his tact and judgment he successfully carried a great people through the greatest crisis of their history. He combined so many mental and moral attributes that even now people do not know which to admire the more, the beauty of his character or the brilliancy of his intellect. His career is worthy of study, of admiration, of emulation.

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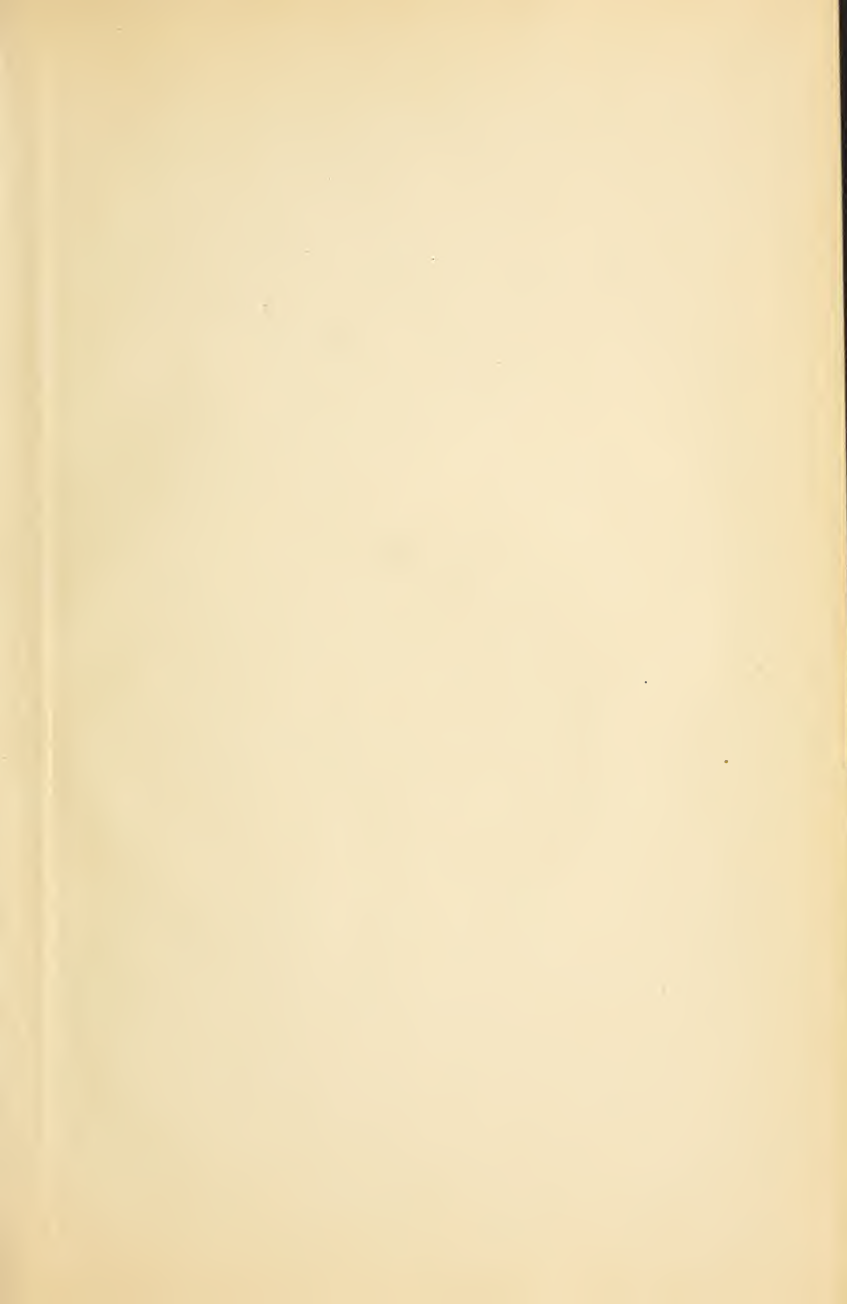
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